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PUEBLO SNAKE CEREMONIALS

F. W. HODGE

It has generally been supposed that Pueblo Indian snake ceremonials have been performed only among the Hopi or Moki tribe of northeastern Arizona and at Sia in Jemez valley, New Mexico, although attention has been directed to a reference by Antonio de Espejo to a dance "con vivoras vivas" witnessed by that sturdy Spaniard at Acoma in 1583. It may therefore prove of interest to note that evidence of at least the former observance of snake ceremonials at other villages was obtained by the writer during a reconnoissance of the New Mexican pueblos in the summer and autumn of 1895, especially as such indications may shed light on the origin of similar observances practiced at the present time.

At Laguna—whose people have probably been more greatly affected by civilization than those of any other pueblo—it was learned that in the summer village of Hatsáyí, commonly known by the Spanish name Mesita, the natives kept a large rattlesnake, which they brought out in certain ceremonials. This occurred over twenty years ago. Today no such rite is performed, although the old men even now seem to have a lingering regard for the rattlesnake, since, like the Hopi, they religiously refrain from killing one.

With reference to this rather recent Laguna ceremony, which appears to have been somewhat akin to the celebrated snake-dance of the Hopi, it is noteworthy that the native designation of the pueblo of Laguna is Kawaík', a term practically identical with Kawaíka, the name applied by the Hopi to a pueblo in their country which they assert was abandoned by its inhabitants after the Spaniards came.

It is well known that Laguna is the most recent of all the pueblos, it having been established some time prior to the year 1700. According to Laguna tradition, a Sia and a Zuñi Indian met on the present site of Laguna, just west of which was a lagoon (whence the village name) whose banks were fringed with trees and shrubbery. Believing it to be a desirable site for a settlement, these two Indians agreed to go to their respective homes

and return with their families. This little gathering was soon followed by other natives of Zuñi and Sia, and these in turn by quite a large body from Acoma, whose inhabitants had always regarded the site of Laguna as a part of their hunting grounds. The people of the present Laguna are the descendants of emigrants from the Keres villages of Acoma, Sia, and San Felipe, the pueblo of Zuñi, the Tanoan pueblos of Jemez and Sandia (these two speaking remote dialects), and one of the Hopi villages, "probably Oraibe."

Now, these Hopi emigrants to Laguna formed the Rattlesnake clan of the latter pueblo and became affiliated with the Water-snake clan (Skür'shka-háno) from Sia, the Earth or Sand clan (Hátsi-háno) from Jemez, and the Lizard clan (Méyo-háno) of unknown origin in the form of a phratral organization, all of these clans being still represented at Laguna (except the Earth or Sand folk, who are extinct) and among the Hopi. Indeed, among both of these people the Earth or Sand and the Lizard clans belong to one phratry. It therefore seems quite likely that the snake ceremony performed at Laguna only twenty years ago had its origin among the Hopi, and that it came not "probably from Oraibe," as the Laguna people say, but more likely from the now ruined pueblo of Kawaíka, whose name adhered to the newly founded pueblo near the lagoon.

It should here be said that the name of the former Laguna summer village of Moquino, nine miles north of Laguna, but now a Mexican settlement, has no reference to "Moqui," but to the well known Moquino family of New Mexico who owned the land on which the town was afterward located.

It might be asked that if people from Sia, who also have a snake dance, as described by Mrs M. C. Stevenson, migrated to Laguna, why should not the rattlesnake ceremonial of the latter pueblo have been derived from Sia? or if, as Espejo asserted, the Acoma had a snake-dance, why not from that pueblo? In the first place, the snake-dance of the Sia is a very modern rite with that people, it having been introduced by the Cochití somewhat more than thirty years ago. I was informed by an unusually intelligent Cochití Indian that the Sia had no snake ceremony before the sacred reptile from Cochití was introduced there. The reason for the transfer of the ceremony from one Keres village to another may be explained only by surmising that the snake rite

at Cochití came to an end with the death of the last member of the Shrúhwi-hánuch or Snake clan of that pueblo. The Snake clan (Sqú-háno) of the Sia is among the existing clans of their village, and members of the Shqúwí-hánoq^h are still found at Acoma, but are not affiliated with any other clan in the form of a phratry, as at Laguna and among the Hopi. Judging from the fact that, so far as is known, the entire Hopi people of Kawaíka abandoned the region of northeastern Arizona, and that they proved to have wielded sufficient influence to impress the name of their old village on the new Laguna, and by reason also of the fact that the Snake clan of the Hopi is of such importance and the snake ceremonials of that people so highly developed, it is more reasonable to presume that the former Laguna snake rites were introduced from the Hopi rather than from Acoma, where its influence was so slight as to leave not even a traditional trace.

At San Ildefonso a Snake society is reputed to exist, but it could not be learned whether rattlesnakes are used in the ceremonials. Indeed there is reason for doubting the existence of a Snake society and its dependent ceremonies in this or in any other pueblo in which a Snake clan has not been or is not represented. This is another reason why the Laguna snake rite may not have been derived from Acoma, since the Laguna clans (Koháia, Bear; Tyá-mi, Eagle; Tsúshki,* Coyote (partly), Kóchinish-yáka, Yellow-corn; Kúkinish-yáka, Red-corn; Sits, Water†) which migrated from that town did not include a Snake people, or indeed any clan related to the Snakes, while this was quite the reverse in the case of the Hopi emigrants.

The assertion that Snake ceremonies will in all probability be found only at pueblos in which Snake clans are traceable seems to be sufficiently supported. When the ceremony of the rattle-snake was brought to a close at Cochití it was not transferred to Santo Domingo, San Felipe, or Santa Ana—the nearest Keres neighbors—but to Sia, for no other apparent reason than that no Snake clan exists or existed at any of these other towns. The pueblos in which Snake clans are found are the Keres villages of (1) Laguna, (2) Acoma, (3) Sia, and (4) Cochití (extinct), at

* Compare Súsí, the name of the Coyote clan of Zuñi, whence came the other part of the Coyote folk of Laguna.

† All of these clans except the Coyote are still represented at Acoma.

(5) Zuñi, and (6) various pueblos of the Hopi. In each of the Keres villages Snake ceremonies have been performed, as above noted. So far as is known, no such performance is conducted at Zuñi; but among the Hopi, particularly at Walpi, the snake-dance is renowned.

At Laguna the Snake-folk is known by the name Sqówi-háno; at Acoma, Shqúwĩ-hánoq^{ch}; at Sia, Sqú-háno; at Cochití, Shrúhwi-hánuch; at Zuñi, Chítola-kwe, and among the Hopi, Chúa-wuñwü.

HAUSA LANGUAGE OF AFRICA.—In west Africa there is a written language—Hausa, with the Arabic alphabet—and the rudiments of a literature. This is taught in the Mohammedan schools, and letters pass from district to district, written by the merchants or the scribes of the kings and emirs. An association, called the Hausa Association, has been formed to promote the study of this language, which may be said to be the *lingua franca* from the shores of the Mediterranean to the gulf of Guinea. The Hausa student, Mr Robinson, who was sent by the association to study the language on the spot, has recently returned from the great Clapham junction of west Africa, the city of Kano and he has done most admirable work in compiling a dictionary and grammar of the language in spite of very great difficulties, which it took no ordinary amount of courage, resolution, and perseverance to overcome. I hope that before long he will give a public account of his work and its results. I have here a small pamphlet—part of the Gospel of St Matthew—transcribed into Hausa.—*F. D. Lugard in Scottish Geographical Magazine, December, 1895.*

CLIFF DWELLER REMAINS.—The mummified remains of an Indian were recently discovered by Mr John McCarty, of Prescott, Arizona, in a walled-up cist in one of the cliff dwellings on Verde river, a dozen miles north of the mouth of the East Verde. The mummy was found in a sitting posture. Several broken earthenware vessels, a stone axe, and a dozen obsidian and flint arrowpoints accompanied the remains.